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ABSTRACT

The Reason Foundation commissioned a survey of 800 registered voters in California to determine attitudes about education and education reform. School choice was a major topic of the survey. Support for school choice was strong as was disappointment with public schools. Across different demographic groups, respondents supported the idea of school choice by a margin of two-to-one, falling from first to fourth when told religious schools would be included. Almost 70 percent believed California public schools were performing poorly. More than 60 percent underestimated the state average educational spending per student. Support for a voucher system was strong, but varied depending on the structure of the system. Respondents also were not opposed to spending more on education, but think that much education spending is wasteful. Accommodating students' special needs in a school-choice system, and the greater accountability offered parents by the system were also heavily supported. Reviews of two other studies also are included: a Meta Information Services study done for Parents for Educational Choice and a study of Louis Harris and Associates. Similar levels of support for school choice to a Reason Foundation study were found in the Meta study while the Harris study found that public education is the primary concern of Los Angeles area residents. Survey questions and detailed response data are included. (JPT)

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# SUMMARY REPORT
# SURVEY OF VOTER ATTITUDES IN CALIFORNIA TOWARD A CHOICE SYSTEM IN EDUCATION

by Arnold Steinberg & Anna David

## Introduction

This Reason Foundation survey of 800 registered voters in California was designed to ascertain attitudes to education and, in particular, education reform. It is the largest, most detailed, and most definitive survey in California of public attitudes towards choice in education.

Support for choice in education was strong; similarly disappointment in public schools was also strong. The majority of those polled supported the idea of parental choice in education, with wide agreement for reform recorded across the board regardless of gender, party, ideology, age, income and whether respondents currently had a child in school. The disenchantment with public schools in California was shown to be pervasive.

## Synopsis

The conclusions of this survey, and its most salient findings based on other data reviewed in conjunction, are outlined in this synopsis:

<u>Disenchantment with Public Schools</u>. Widespread disenchantment with public schools was recorded; relatively more with public schools in the state and relatively less with public schools in the respondent's own area. In response to a question regarding the performance of public schools in California (Q11), almost 70 percent believed they were doing a poor job. Of these, more than 80 percent of Hispanics, 70 percent of African-Americans, 68 per-

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EA 024 900

cent of Asians and 69 percent of whites believed public schools were doing a poor job.

In the respondents' own areas, 52.4 percent felt public schools were doing a poor job (Q12). Of these, 50.5 percent of white, 64 percent of African-American, 67 percent of Hispanic, and 63 percent of Asian respondents believed public schools in their area were doing a poor job.

**School Spending**. More than 60 percent of respondents underestimate the amount of spending per student (Q13), believing it to be below $4,000 per student, per year. The actual amount is $5,242 per student, per year not including the unfunded liability for employee retirement benefits.

**Support for Education Choice**. Support for the idea of choice in education was recorded at as much as two-to-one for choice, falling to five-to-four when told religious schools would be included. This support of a bare majority is particularly noteworthy since choice in education is not an idea widely publicized among the electorate. Also noteworthy about this result is the level of support shown for choice among African-American, Hispanic and Asian respondents. A 76.4 percent majority of African-American respondents, a 74.5 percent majority of Hispanic respondents and a 78.9 percent of Asian respondents said they would vote for choice in education. This support was recorded across the board regardless of gender, ideology and income.

**Vouchers as part of education choice**. There is some difference in the survey responses asking whether respondents would prefer a 60 percent or 85 percent scholarship or voucher as part of education choice.

Under this proposed system, designed to save money for the state and still provide choice for all, each parent would be issued a voucher enabling them to choose the school of their choice. The voucher amount would equal public school spending per child if the child attends public school, or either 85 percent or 60 percent of public school spending per child if the child attends private school. This difference in responses is apparently due to greater Democrat support for an 85 percent voucher than for a 60 percent voucher.

**Voters and spending in education.** Voters do not oppose spending more on education. However, almost 95 percent of voters do feel there is waste in current spending (Q15), with the majority believing there is "a lot of waste". Our survey did not examine whether respondents would support an increase in personal taxation to support increased education spending.

**Support for special needs students.** The need to assure provision for student special needs and the idea of choice itself rank highest in the components tested. The "jump-start" provisions which allow for low-income children to receive vouchers or scholarships to attend a school of their choice as early as 1993 do not fare well (Q21A and 21B). Under this proposal, all other students would be eligible in between two to four years as the program is phased in and the transition completed.

**Parents seek accountability.** More than 71 percent of respondents showed support for choice because it offers greater accountability to parents (Q35). Support was recorded among 71 percent of whites, 66 percent of African-Americans, 73 percent of Hispanics, and 90 percent of Asians. In addition, 63.5 percent believed parents were competent to make education choices for their children (Q28) versus the argument against parental competence. Similarly, 71 percent of respondents were open to the argument that schools should teach what is right and wrong (Q37).

**Concern over funding to private schools.** More than 41 percent of respondents were concerned that education choice would take too much money from public schools to help pay for those already in private schools (Q29). But 49.3 percent said they felt the private schools would do a better job than public schools at a lower cost per student.

## Other Studies

In the course of preparing for this study, the Reason Foundation reviewed two other studies, both undertaken earlier this year. One study, performed by Meta Information Services for Parents for Educational Choice was titled *Educational Choice Initiative survey of Voter Opinions*.

A second study, performed by Louis Harris and Associates for the LEARN organization in Los Angeles, was titled, *The Los Angeles Unified School District: The Case for Reform.*

**Meta Study**. This study also discerned a similar five-to-four ratio of support for Choice in Education. "Choice" refers to a system that includes private and religious schools. The survey discerned a higher level of support, about two-to-one, for an "open enrollment" initiative, under which students would be allowed to enroll in any public school of their parent's choice. The Meta survey found nearly a third of respondents saw school funding as the most important problem.

Respondents in the Meta survey believe private schools do a better job. What respondents may not know is the relative cost of private and religious schools versus public schools. Choice supporters cited the concept of parental choice as the predominant reason for their support, followed by quality of education. Choice opponents cited their belief in public education, and a concern about possible tax increase as reasons for their opposition.

In the Meta survey, a two-to-one majority felt teachers are underpaid rather than overpaid. By more than two-to-one, they said public school teachers are doing a good job. Again, these data point up that respondents who may find fault with the system, do not find as much fault with teachers.

Both the Meta survey and our survey data seemed to indicate that partial or gradual entry into the voucher concept does not elicit broader support than a general introduction of choice.

**Harris Study**. The Harris study did not investigate reform options outside of the existing public school system. It included many "motherhood" type questions, for example, 94 percent answered "agree" to this question: "Do you agree or disagree that children perform better in school if their parents are involved in the school?"

The Harris survey findings that public education, rather than crime or drugs, are the paramount problems in the Los Angeles area, are at odds with other surveys.

These findings reflect an inapplicable question technique which asks respondents to allocate $100 in public spending on "where you think it

would do the most good". Respondents may feel better about allocating money to education rather than, say, to crime control.

Similarly, this Harris survey finds that more than four in five respondents say they would be willing to pay $100 or more in taxes if the money went to improve public education in Los Angeles. Most parcel tax elections throughout the State of California are failing. This question was asked after an entire survey of sensitization to the topic, and, therefore, the results are likely to be invalid.

One finding of this Harris survey in accord with other surveys reviewed is that money spent on education could be spent far more effectively.

The Harris survey indicates respondent misconceptions about what constitutes micro-management, for example, when asked whether the seven-member Los Angeles school board should spend most of its time working on developing overall policy directions for the schools or attending to the specific decisions and practices in each school, a majority chose the latter option, a kind of micro-management which might actually make the present situation worse.

This Harris survey found that higher-educated respondents had a more negative view of the school system. This may, in part, reflect lower expectations of less-educated respondents. The report concluded about the large Latino community:"...They must learn what they have a right to expect and what the consequences for their children will be if the schools don't offer their best". The report begs the questions as to whether, if Hispanics and others learned what to expect, they would back not simply reforms within the existing public schools system, but a total choice approach to education.

The Harris survey also found that respondents had the most confidence in teachers and parents to work successfully to help improve education in the Los Angeles Unified School District. Respondents had the least confidence in "adults in the community who are not parents" in "organized advocacy groups seeking to reform education" and in "the school board".

**Prior Work**. For more than a decade, Arnold Steinberg, author of the Reason Foundation survey has conducted numerous studies throughout California that have included questions on a range of educational issues. In particular, this author has surveyed various school districts on educational issues and possible (two-thirds level) support for a parcel

tax. In general, these surveys have found voters willing to support parcel taxes in their own area, but usually by less than the two-thirds required majority. Some of this support reflected the results of the Serrano decision, in which voters in relatively more affluent districts were willing to support a parcel tax to enhance quality in their school district. Even Republican and conservative voters have generally favored spending more money on public education, especially as compared to alternatives, such as welfare. It is more difficult to correlate support for higher spending on education with support for higher taxes to fund such spending.

**Purpose of Study**. The purpose of this study was to survey voter opinion of a choice approach to education. We sought to measure voter receptivity to the idea of choice and to some specific components that might be part of choice. Any public policy proposal or idea may take different forms, such as constitutional amendments or statutes.

**Voters**. Voters and "people" are not always the same. Voters are people, but not all people are voters. For example, in California there are many parents who are in the state illegally (illegal aliens) or who are in the state legally (legal aliens), but are not citizens, and therefore, not voters. In addition, minority parents, parents who are renters, parents who are lower income are less likely to be registered to vote than non-minority parents, parents who are homeowners, parents who are middle income and higher. This survey's emphasis on voters does not mean that the views of the non-voters are unimportant. But just as voters elect public officials, including state legislators and school board members, they also influence public policy at the initiative process. Therefore, the choice idea, like other policies in education, is profoundly affected by voters, the group we measured.

**Sample**. This sample was derived by a computer program that passed the massive California voter file. Any voters who did not vote in the most recent November (1991) election were eliminated. Any subsequent registrants (anyone who registered to vote subsequent to the 30-day cutoff for the November election) were added. Allowance was made to include voters with both listed and unlisted telephone numbers. A random program was applied to produce a subset which was then loaded into a computer which controlled each terminal in front of an interviewer. Thus, not only was true randomness assured,

but the computer monitoring of the sample provided for pursuit of not-at-homes and busy signals, and callbacks as necessary.

**Margin of Error**. The margin for error for this kind of study is well within four percent at the 95 percent confidence interval. This means that in nearly every such study, the results would not be different by more than four percent if we had interviewed every voter in this universe, as defined. However, the margin of error for individual subsamples is necessarily higher; similarly the margin of error for certain subgroups, such as Democrats or Republicans is larger.

**Development of Study**. This study was developed in conjunction with Arnold Steinberg & Associates, and approved by the Reason Foundation. However, about mid-way through the project, an additional question was added at the end of the study, just before the demographics. This "push" question necessarily did not bias results for questions asked earlier in the survey. About three-quarters of the way through the study, another "push" question was asked. Both questions were efforts to test stronger arguments against choice.

**Subsamples**. The final sample of 800 involved four comparable subsamples. Use of these four subsamples, individually, or in groups of two, enabled the study to test mutually exclusive variables. The computer allocated respondents to one of the four subsamples; in effect, four studies were occurring simultaneously. Given that this was a random sample, there is sampling variation between the four subsamples; however, the four subsamples were generally quite comparable.

**Methodology**. Since each interviewer operated from a computer terminal, the quality control was well beyond that reached in field operations without computer control. No paper questionnaires were used. No paper samples were used. The computer controls and monitors the sample. The computer controls the questionnaire to assure assignment of questions to the proper subsample, to provide precision rotation sequences. The rotation sequences were especially critical for the two series of questions (one series on possible provisions of a choice measure, a second series on support versus opponent arguments). Without such rotation, the responses could well be skewed

to the unforeseen biases arising from a fixed or insufficiently rotated sequence.

**Demographics**. Programmers worked with the voter file to convert and transfer the individual voter's turnout history (if available for that county), date of registration, absentee voter history, geo-coding by country, party registration, and gender. The method of sample selection and programming assured that geographic breakdowns were absolutely accurate (i.e., the way in which we allocated counties by region or media market).

Project 1016
California Voters
Saturday/Sept 21 - Friday/Sept 27, 1991
Nov 90 voters plus subsequent registrants
Sample 800

"Hello is this ---[NAME OF PERSON TO BE INTERVIEWED]---?"
[IF NO ASK TO SPEAK WITH DESIGNATED PERSON, IF YES CONTINUE:]
"I'm _____ of the CAL WESTERN POLL. We're talking with people in your area today about public figures and important issues, and we need to include your opinions."
[DO NOT PAUSE; GO DIRECTLY TO FIRST SCREEN/Q9 AND CONTINUE.]

1: Subsamples
No-limits = 1+2; limits = 3+4
Crosstabs will include 1+2; 3+4; 1+3; 2+4; 1+4; 2+3

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| .2 % | 1 | Subsample 1 (200)-11,12; 17A/60%; 21A; 27A |
| 24.8% | 2 | Subsample 2 (200)-12,11; 17B/85%; 21B; 27B |
| 24.8% | 3 | Subsample 3 (200)-12,11; 17C/60%; 21A; 27B |
| 25.1% | 4 | Subsample 4 (200)-11,12; 17D/85%; 21B; 27A |

2: Voting turnout history
**DATA WILL BE PROGRAMMED FROM TAPE.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 17.9% | 1 | June 88 |
| 28.8% | 2 | Nov 88 |
| 18.8% | 3 | June 90 |
| 28.2% | 4 | Nov 90 |
| 4.4% | 5 | Nov 90/Absentee |
| 1.9% | 99 | None of the above |

3: Date of Registration
**DATA WILL BE PROGRAMMED FROM TAPE.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 26.8% | 1 | 1989- Current |
| 28.4% | 2 | 1986-1988 |
| 12.8% | 3 | 1983-1985 |
| 31.9% | 4 | Before 1983 |

4: Absentee Voter
**DATA WILL BE PROGRAMMED FROM TAPE.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 17.8% | 1 | Applied For Absentee Ballot In The Past |
| 82.2% | 99 | Never Voted Absentee |

5: Area/Regions
**DATA WILL BE PROGRAMMED FROM TAPE.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 16.5% | 1 | Bay Area |
| 14.0% | 2 | Central Counties |
| 7.2% | 3 | Coastal Counties |
| 24.5% | 4 | Los Angeles County |
| 13.7% | 5 | Northern Counties |
| 6.2% | 6 | Orange County |
| 17.9% | 7 | Southern Counties |

6: Area/Media Markets
**DATA WILL BE PROGRAMMED FROM TAPE.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3.9% | 1 | Fresno |
| 41.9% | 2 | Los Angeles/Palm Springs |
| 10.9% | 3 | Sacramento |
| 2.7% | 4 | Salinas-Monterey |
| 8.8% | 5 | San Diego |
| 23.4% | 6 | San Francisco |
| 8.4% | 7 | Seven Lesser Markets |

7: Political Party Registration
**DATA WILL BE PROGRAMMED FROM TAPE.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 48.1% | 1 | Democrat (DEM) |
| 41.5% | 2 | Republican (REP) |
| 8.9% | 3 | Independent (DS) (NP) (IND) |
| 1.5% | 99 | Other (AI) (AIP) (LIB) (PF) |

8: Sex

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 46.8% | 1 | Male |
| 53.2% | 2 | Female |

9: Generally speaking, do you feel things in this state:
**ROTATE 1-2**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 19.1% | 1 | Are Generally Going In The Right Direction |
| 71.6% | 2 | Have Pretty Seriously Gotten Off On The Wrong Track |
| 9.3% | 99 | Unsure/dk [DO NOT READ] |

Do you believe each of the following is doing a GOOD or POOR job:
10: Governor Pete Wilson

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 34.5% | 1 | Good |
| 50.1% | 2 | Poor |
| 15.4% | 99 | Unsure/DK |

11: Public schools in the state

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 17.5% | 1 | Good |
| 68.9% | 2 | Poor |
| 13.5% | 99 | Unsure/DK |

12: Public schools in your area

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 35.9% | 1 | Good |
| 52.4% | 2 | Poor |
| 11.7% | 99 | Unsure/DK |

13: Thinking about public schools in California, what is your guess as to how much public schools spend each year per student?
[NO RESPONSE, THEN PUSH:] Just guess.
[DO NOT PROMPT]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11.4% | 1 | Under $500 | [DO NOT READ] |
| 3.6% | 2 | $500-$999 | [DO NOT READ] |
| 7.1% | 3 | $1,000-$1,499 | [DO NOT READ] |
| 4.8% | 4 | $1,500-$1,999 | [DO NOT READ] |
| 5.8% | 5 | $2,000-$2,499 | [DO NOT READ] |
| 2.9% | 6 | $2,500-$2,999 | [DO NOT READ] |
| 6.1% | 7 | $3,000-$3,499 | [DO NOT READ] |
| 2.1% | 8 | $3,500-$3,999 | [DO NOT READ] |
| 4.0% | 9 | $4,000-$4,499 | [DO NOT READ] |
| 1.9% | 10 | $4,500-$4,999 | [DO NOT READ] |
| 5.8% | 11 | $5,000-$5,499 | [DO NOT READ] |
| 0.5% | 12 | $5,500-$5,999 | [DO NOT READ] |
| 2.9% | 13 | $6,000-$7,499 | [DO NOT READ] |
| 9.6% | 14 | $7,500 Or More | [DO NOT READ] |
| 31.6% | 99 | Unsure/don't Know | [DO NOT READ] |

14: Thinking about public schools in California, generally speaking, do you believe California spends MORE or LESS per student than other states?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 38.1% | 1 | More | |
| 49.2% | 2 | Less | |
| 5.8% | 3 | Same | [DO NOT READ] |
| 6.8% | 99 | Unsure/Dk | [DO NOT READ] |

15: Do you believe government spending on education has:
**ROTATE 1,2**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 36.8% | 1 | Some waste | |
| 58.1% | 2 | A lot of waste | |
| 5.1% | 99 | Unsure/dk | [DO NOT READ] |

16: State government currently pays for a student to attend public school, usually the neighborhood school within the student's school district.
If state government spends the same amount per student, should the student be able to attend:
**ROTATE 1-3**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 23.2% | 1 | The student's neighborhood public school only, the current system |
| 27.6% | 2 | Any public school |
| 46.6% | 3 | Any school, public or private |
| 2.6% | 99 | Unsure/don't know [DO NOT READ] |

17A: Suppose a ballot initiative reads this way: Improvement of Education Through Choice. Amends State Constitution. Declares taxpayers not getting full value for money spent on education because schools not held accountable for performance. Redefines existing government spending per student as a scholarship or voucher that, in 1993 and thereafter, can be used by each student to attend public or private school of parent's choice. Average scholarship or voucher will equal public school spending per child if child attends public school, and will equal 60-percent of public school spending per child if child attends private school.
If you had to decide, would you vote YES or NO on this Initiative?
58.6% 1 Yes
33.5% 2 No
7.9% 99 Unsure/ Dk [DO NOT READ]

17B: Suppose a ballot initiative reads this way: Improvement of Education Through Choice. Amends State Constitution. Declares taxpayers not getting full value for money spent on education because schools not held accountable for performance. Redefines existing government spending per student as a scholarship or voucher that, in 1993 and thereafter, can be used by each student to attend public or private school of parent's choice. Average scholarship or voucher will equal public school spending per child if child attends public school, and will equal 85-percent of public school spending per child if child attends private school.
If you had to decide, would you vote YES or NO on this Initiative?
60.5% 1 Yes
27.5% 2 No
12.0% 99 Unsure/ Dk [DO NOT READ]

17C: Suppose a ballot initiative reads this way: Improvement of Education Through Choice. Amends State Constitution. Declares taxpayers not getting full value for money spent on education because schools not held accountable for performance. Redefines existing government spending per student as a scholarship or voucher that, in 1993 and thereafter, can be used by each student to attend public or private school of parent's choice. Average scholarship or voucher will equal public school spending per child if child attends public school, and will equal 60-percent of public school spending per child if child attends private school. Limits education spending to the 1992-1993 level, except for annual inflation adjustments and increases in enrollment.
Fiscal impact: May result in savings to state.
If you had to decide, would you vote YES or NO on this Initiative?
51.5% 1 Yes
35.0% 2 No
13.5% 99 Unsure/ Dk [DO NOT READ]

17D: Suppose a ballot initiative reads this way: Improvement of Education Through Choice. Amends State Constitution. Declares taxpayers not getting full value for money spent on education because schools not held accountable for performance. Redefines existing government spending per student as a scholarship or voucher that, in 1993 and thereafter, can be used by each student to attend public or private school of parent's choice. Average scholarship or voucher will equal public school spending per child if child attends public school, and will equal 85-percent of public school spending per child if child attends private school. Limits education spending to the 1992-1993 level, except for annual inflation adjustments and increases in enrollment.
Fiscal impact: May result in savings to state.
If you had to decide, would you vote YES or NO on this Initiative?
58.9% 1 Yes
27.7% 2 No
13.4% 99 Unsure/ Dk [DO NOT READ]

18: Under a Choice proposal, there would not be any additional cost to California taxpayers, but the state money presently spent on education will go with each student to whatever public or private school is selected by the parents. If a student selects a Public Scholarship School, the same amount the state currently spends goes with the student. If the student selects a Private Scholarship School, a lesser amount goes with the student. Do you SUPPORT or OPPOSE this kind of Choice proposal for education?
52.9% 1 Support
42.0% 2 Oppose
5.1% 99 Unsure/Dk [DO NOT READ]

Different provisions might be in an Education Through Choice Proposal or Initiative. For each provision I read, please tell me, on a one-to-six scale, how much you like this provision. ONE means YOU DON'T LIKE THIS PROVISION AT ALL, and SIX means YOU LIKE THIS PROVISION A LOT. Remember -- one-two-three-four-five-six, the HIGHER the number, the MORE you LIKE this provision.
**ROTATE Q19-Q27**
19: For eligible low-income, disabled or handicapped students, or children with special education needs, scholarships or vouchers will be higher to reflect the cost of reasonable transportation or special education, as under the current system.
10.2 % 1 ONE/Don't Like
4.7% 2 TWO
9.8% 3 THREE
12.0% 4 FOUR
20.2% 5 FIVE
42.0% 6 SIX/Like A Lot
1.0% 99 Unsure/Don't Know [DO NOT READ]

20: Parents can choose any public scholarship or private scholarship school for their child, not just their neighborhood school, if the child meets admission requirements and there is sufficient space.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 13.3% | 1 | ONE/Don't Like |
| 5.7% | 2 | TWO |
| 8.4% | 3 | THREE |
| 9.3% | 4 | FOUR |
| 16.8% | 5 | FIVE |
| 45.5% | 6 | SIX/Like A Lot |
| 1.0% | 99 | Unsure/Don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

21A: Low-income children will get a four-year jump-start by receiving scholarships in 1993 to attend a school of their choice; then, during a transition period from 1993 to 1997, scholarships will gradually go to all other students.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 28.8% | 1 | ONE/Don't Like |
| 14.1% | 2 | TWO |
| 16.6% | 3 | THREE |
| 15.4% | 4 | FOUR |
| 8.2% | 5 | FIVE |
| 14.6% | 6 | SIX/Like A Lot |
| 2.2% | 99 | Unsure/Don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

21B: Low-income children will get a two-year jump-start by receiving scholarships in 1995 to attend a school of their choice; then, during a transition period from 1995 to 1997, scholarships will gradually go to all other students.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 23.4% | 1 | ONE/Don't Like |
| 12.7% | 2 | TWO |
| 16.9% | 3 | THREE |
| 17.4% | 4 | FOUR |
| 12.4% | 5 | FIVE |
| 15.9% | 6 | SIX/Like A Lot |
| 1.2% | 99 | Unsure/Don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

22: No scholarship school, public or private, can pick its students on the basis of race, religion, or national origin, but a private scholarship school may set academic and similar admission standards.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 24.2% | 1 | ONE/Don't Like |
| 7.3% | 2 | TWO |
| 8.3% | 3 | THREE |
| 8.7% | 4 | FOUR |
| 17.6% | 5 | FIVE |
| 32.2% | 6 | SIX/Like A Lot |
| 1.6% | 99 | Unsure/Don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

23: A private scholarship school may be co-educational, or may be either a boys school or a girls school.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 16.4% | 1 | ONE/Don't Like |
| 7.1% | 2 | TWO |
| 10.2% | 3 | THREE |
| 9.3% | 4 | FOUR |
| 16.9% | 5 | FIVE |
| 38.5% | 6 | SIX/Like A Lot |
| 1.6% | 99 | Unsure/Don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

**24:** Each scholarship school, public or private, must reserve a quota of 15-percent of each year's new admissions for students of low-income parents.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 19.5% | 1 | ONE/Don't Like |
| 11.1% | 2 | TWO |
| 17.4% | 3 | THREE |
| 14.7% | 4 | FOUR |
| 16.8% | 5 | FIVE |
| 18.6% | 6 | SIX/Like A Lot |
| 2.0% | 99 | Unsure/Don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

**25:** Teaching of religion in schools accepting state scholarship students will be in accord with the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, and no pupil will be required to profess an ideological belief.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 19.3% | 1 | ONE/Don't Like |
| 6.1% | 2 | TWO |
| 9.9% | 3 | THREE |
| 7.5% | 4 | FOUR |
| 15.5% | 5 | FIVE |
| 39.6% | 6 | SIX/Like A Lot |
| 2.1% | 99 | Unsure/Don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

**26:** Each school district will have the opportunity to continue as is or create Public Scholarship Schools.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 16.5% | 1 | ONE/Don't Like |
| 7.6% | 2 | TWO |
| 17.6% | 3 | THREE |
| 15.8% | 4 | FOUR |
| 16.8% | 5 | FIVE |
| 21.1% | 6 | SIX/Like A Lot |
| 4.6% | 99 | Unsure/Don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

**27A:** A Choice Measure would provide for an increase in state education spending each year to reflect ONLY annual inflation adjustments and increases in enrollment.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 17.0% | 1 | ONE/Don't Like |
| 10.1% | 2 | TWO |
| 14.3% | 3 | THREE |
| 17.0% | 4 | FOUR |
| 14.8% | 5 | FIVE |
| 24.2% | 6 | SIX/Like A Lot |
| 2.5% | 99 | Unsure/Don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

**27B:** A Choice Measure would place a limit on education spending, with the total state government cost not to exceed the 1992-1993 level, except for annual inflation adjustments and increases in enrollment.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 25.5% | 1 | ONE/Don't Like |
| 10.0% | 2 | TWO |
| 14.8% | 3 | THREE |
| 16.3% | 4 | FOUR |
| 11.8% | 5 | FIVE |
| 19.3% | 6 | SIX/Like A Lot |
| 2.5% | 99 | Unsure/Don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

Regardless of how you feel about a Choice-In-Education proposal, please tell me which of these statements is closest to your view:

Repeat "With whom do you agree" only as necessary.

["BOTH"--PROBE:] "But which statement is CLOSEST to your view?"

[BOTH/NEITHER/UNSURE/DK = Code 99.]
**ROTATE Q28-Q42**
**28:** (With whom do you agree:)
**ROTATE 1-2**
63.5% 1 SUPPORTERS say Choice would provide each parent the right to choose a public or private school for their child
33.5% 2 OPPONENTS say the state should provide support only for the public school system
3.0% 99 Unsure/don't Know [DO NOT READ]

**29:** (With whom do you agree:)
**ROTATE 1-2**
49.3% 1 SUPPORTERS say Choice means private schools will do a better job than public schools at a lower cost per student
41.4% 2 OPPONENTS say Choice would take too much money from public schools to help pay for those already in private schools
9.3% 99 Unsure/don't Know [DO NOT READ]

**30:** (With whom do you agree:)
**ROTATE 1-2**
59.1% 1 SUPPORTERS say more money would go for teaching instead of bureaucracy
31.9% 2 OPPONENTS say cutbacks in administrative support would hurt students in need of counseling and other services
8.9% 99 Unsure/don't Know [DO NOT READ]

**31:** (With whom do you agree:)
**ROTATE 1-2**
58.3% 1 SUPPORTERS say encouraging competition among schools would end the inefficient public school monopoly
30.6% 2 OPPONENTS say dishonest businesspeople would use misleading advertising to attract students to their schools
11.2% 99 Unsure/don't Know [DO NOT READ]

**32:** (With whom do you agree:)
**ROTATE 1-2**
68.7% 1 SUPPORTERS say Choice would motivate teachers by providing them with greater freedom to teach effectively
21.9% 2 OPPONENTS say Choice would lead to teacher job insecurity and strikes
9.4% 99 Unsure/don't Know [DO NOT READ]

33: (With whom do you agree:)
ROTATE 1-2

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 59.6% | 1 | SUPPORTERS say Choice especially helps poor and minority children, who will be better educated and trained for productive jobs |
| 32.0% | 2 | OPPONENTS say Choice would leave only the poor and minorities in public schools |
| 8.3% | 99 | Unsure/don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

34: (With whom do you agree:)
ROTATE 1-2

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 62.4% | 1 | SUPPORTERS say the state should NOT withhold support for a student's education just because the student chooses a religious school |
| 33.3% | 2 | OPPONENTS say Choice threatens the traditional separation of Church and State by subsidizing religious-affiliated schools |
| 4.3% | 99 | Unsure/don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

35: (With whom do you agree:)
ROTATE 1-2

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 70.9% | 1 | SUPPORTERS say Choice would make schools more accountable to parents, especially poor and minority parents |
| 21.9% | 2 | OPPONENTS say parents generally are not interested or competent enough to choose the right school for their child |
| 7.2% | 99 | Unsure/don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

36: (With whom do you agree:)
ROTATE 1-2

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 59.8% | 1 | SUPPORTERS say Choice would limit spending increases for education by making schools more efficient |
| 31.3% | 2 | OPPONENTS say Choice will cost taxpayers even more money |
| 8.9% | 99 | Unsure/don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

37: (With whom do you agree:)
ROTATE 1-2

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 70.9% | 1 | SUPPORTERS say parents should be able to send their children to schools that teach what is right and wrong |
| 22.9% | 2 | OPPONENTS say teaching values mixes religion into public education |
| 6.2% | 99 | Unsure/don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

38: (With whom do you agree:)
ROTATE 1-2

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 63.6% | 1 | SUPPORTERS say Choice would mix students from different backgrounds in a variety of schools |
| 29.6% | 2 | OPPONENTS say only public schools can provide true cultural integration |
| 6.8% | 99 | Unsure/Don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

**39:** (With whom do you agree:)
**ROTATE 1-2**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 59.3% | 1 | SUPPORTERS say state education funding should follow a child to a school, public or private, chosen by the child's parents |
| 35.9% | 2 | OPPONENTS say state education funds should go directly and only to public schools |
| 4.8% | 99 | Unsure/Don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

**40:** (With whom do you agree:)
**ROTATE 1-2**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 57.1% | 1 | SUPPORTERS say Choice will improve schools, cut the drop-out rate, reduce juvenile and gang crime, and thereby save money on law enforcement and prisons |
| 31.6% | 2 | OPPONENTS say Choice will NOT improve schools or the crime problem and will worsen the drop-out rate |
| 11.3% | 99 | Unsure/Don't Know [DO NOT READ] |

**41:** (With whom do you agree:)
**ROTATE 1,2**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 67.3% | 1 | SUPPORTERS say Choice schools will prove their performance by fair tests which measure student improvement |
| 23.1% | 2 | OPPONENTS say only detailed government regulations can guarantee that schools will teach effectively. |
| 9.6% | 99 | Unsure/dk [DO NOT READ] |

**42:** (With whom do you agree:)
**ROTATE 1,2**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 55.2% | 1 | SUPPORTERS say competition will help keep private schools from exploiting parents |
| 34.0% | 2 | OPPONENTS say switching state money to students attending private schools will encourage those schools to raise their tuition |
| 10.8% | 99 | Unsure/dk [DO NOT READ] |

**43:** Now that you have heard different arguments for and against an idea of Choice-In-Education, if you had to decide, would you vote YES or NO on a Choice Initiative?
[UNSURE:] Do you lean slightly YES or NO?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 59.6% | 1 | Yes |
| 9.3% | 2 | Yes/lean |
| 2.6% | 3 | No/lean |
| 23.0% | 4 | No |
| 5.5% | 99 | Unsure/ Dk [DO NOT READ] |

**43a:** A Choice measure would provide that state education funding would pay for ALL of a child's schooling if parents choose a public school, and A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION of the child's schooling if parents choose a private, parochial, or RELIGIOUS school. Supporters of such a Choice measure include religious organizations such as Christian fundamentalist and Catholic groups. Generally, would you expect to be voting YES or NO on such a Choice Measure?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 59.4% | 1 | Yes |
| 33.5% | 2 | No |
| 7.2% | 99 | Unsure/dk [DO NOT READ] |

**43b:** Opponents of a Choice measure may include State Superintendent Bill Honig, The California Teacher's Association, and the California PTA. They say a Choice measure would take needed money way from public education and subsidize parents who already have children in private schools. If you had to decide today, would you vote YES or NO on such a Choice measure?

50.8% 1 Yes
39.8% 2 No
9.4% 99 Unsure/dk [DO NOT READ]

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**44:** In politics, are you a LIBERAL or a CONSERVATIVE?
[Liberal/Conservative:]
Would you say you are VERY (liberal)(conservative) or just SOMEWHAT so?

10.1% 1 Very Liberal
20.9% 2 Somewhat liberal
14.9% 3 Neither/Moderate/Middle of the road [VOL.]
38.1% 4 Somewhat Conservative
13.2% 5 Very Conservative
2.9% 99 Unsure/DK/Refuse [DO NOT READ]

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**45:** Do you own your home or do you rent?

70.8% 1 Own/ [OWN HOME OR CONDO]
27.3% 2 Rent/ [RENT, LEASE APARTMENT/HOME]
1.9% 99 Refuse

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**46:** Does a child in your household attend public, private, or parochial school?
[IF YES:] Which?

35.8% 1 Yes/Public
5.7% 2 Yes/Private
3.5% 3 Yes/Parochial/religious
2.6% 4 Yes/Some Combination Of Above [DO NOT READ]
51.3% 5 No/No Child In School
1.1% 99 Refuse

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**THIS QUESTION ASKED ONLY IF RESPONDENT REPLIED "NO" TO PRIOR QUESTION.**

**47:** Are you a parent?

61.5% 1 Yes
38.5% 5 No/Not A Parent
0.0% 99 Refuse

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48: What is your age, please?
[Do not read choices.]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6.8% | 1 | 18-24 |
| 9.7% | 2 | 25-29 |
| 10.4% | 3 | 30-34 |
| 10.4% | 4 | 35-39 |
| 13.0% | 5 | 40-44 |
| 9.7% | 6 | 45-49 |
| 7.8% | 7 | 50-54 |
| 5.2% | 8 | 55-59 |
| 7.7% | 9 | 60-64 |
| 7.6% | 10 | 65-69 |
| 5.1% | 11 | 70-74 |
| 3.9% | 12 | 75+ |
| 2.6% | 99 | Refuse/Unsure/DK [DO NOT READ] |

49: What is your marital status?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6.3% | 1 | Divorced [DO NOT READ] |
| 1.7% | 2 | Live Together [DO NOT READ] |
| 65.5% | 3 | Married [DO NOT READ] |
| 19.5% | 4 | Single [DO NOT READ] |
| 6.0% | 5 | Widowed [DO NOT READ] |
| 1.0% | 99 | Refuse [DO NOT READ] |

50: What is the approximate total annual income in your household, BEFORE taxes:
under 15 thousand, 15-to-25 thousand, 25-to-35 thousand. 35-to-45 thousand, 45-to-60 thousand, or over 60-thousand dollars?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7.2% | 1 | Under 15,000 |
| 11.2% | 2 | 15,000-to-24,999 |
| 14.0% | 3 | 25,000-to-34,999 |
| 13.9% | 4 | 35,000-to-44,999 |
| 18.5% | 5 | 45,000-to-59,999 |
| 19.5% | 6 | 60,000 + |
| 15.7% | 99 | Refuse [DO NOT READ] |

51: What is your religious preference?
[IF PROTESTANT, ASK:] What particular denomination?
**"BORN AGAIN" MEANS CODE 2.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 27.0% | 1 | PROTESTANT/CHRISTIAN (non-fundamentalist): Episcopalian, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Unitarian |
| 19.5% | 2 | PROTESTANT/CHRISTIAN/"BORN-AGAIN"/FUNDAMENTALIST: Baptist, Church of Christ, Pentecostal... |
| 23.0% | 3 | Catholic |
| 2.4% | 4 | Jewish |
| 1.6% | 5 | Mormon |
| 5.5% | 6 | Other |
| 13.5% | 7 | None |
| 2.5% | 8 | Atheist/Agnostic |
| 5.1% | 99 | Refused |

52: What do you consider your race or ethnic background--
WHITE, AFRICAN-AMERICAN, HISPANIC, ASIAN...(or what)?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 80.2% | 1 | White/Caucasian/Anglo |
| 6.8% | 2 | African-American/Black/Negro |
| 6.3% | 3 | Hispanic/Chicano/Latin |
| 2.4% | 4 | Asian/Oriental |
| 2.0% | 5 | Other: [RECORD ON OPEN-END SHEET] |
| 2.2% | 99 | REFUSE |